AIM

THE BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT

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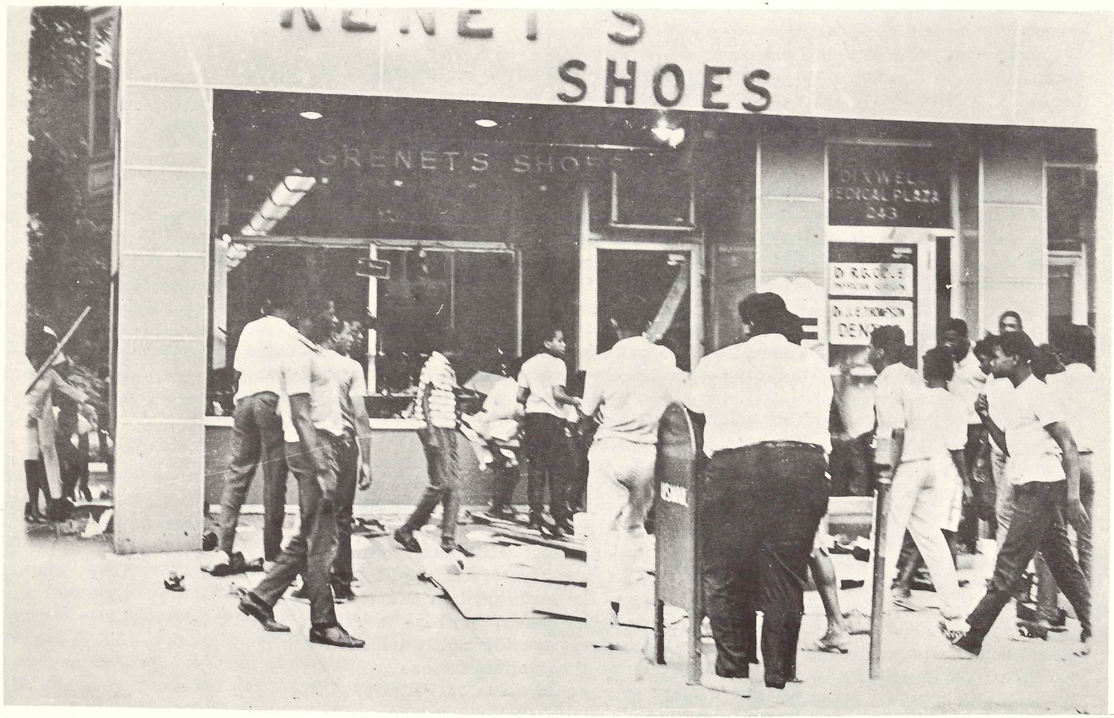
A SEQUEL TO AUGUST



New Haven - August, 1967. Photo by Dick Balzer

by Elizabeth Rose

Readers of the AIM Newsletter will recall the efforts made to raise bond money, described in an article by Robert Gelbach ("Wheels of Justice Turn on Accused", Special edition, Aug. 31), for those who were arrested during the uprising. The HPA bonded out 52 men. Money was needed to meet the requirements of a bail bond system designed to guarantee that defendants will not flee before their cases are disposed of. The procedure to ensure their future whereabouts formally begins at arraignment, the defendant's first court appearance following arrest. (The moralistic prying permitted here is mentioned below.) Bond is fixed by the judge on recommendation of the prosecutor, who names the amount set by the police when they book a person on formal charges. If the defendant can make bon d, by (1) paying the full amount in cash, (2) paying

Cont. Page 2

a cash fee of 5% of the bond to a bondsman, or (3) putting up double the amount of bond in property, he is free until sentenced. The punitive use of bonds, in the range of $10,000 on felonies and $2,500 on misdemeanors, was outlined by Gelbach, as was the quick depletion of a bondsman's maximum legal assets. The consequences of the latter were felt in weeks to come when others arrested had extreme difficulty finding a bondsman. Thus whether or not the defendant remains free between arrest and sentencing is determined only by how much money he has. (The injustice of this system has been somewhat alleviated by the recent innovation of a No-Cash-Bail program which allows defendants with strong ties to the community to be released on their own recognizance, ROR. Although intended for use in misdemeanors, during the uprising this program was applied to patently flimsy felony cases as well.)

In order to keep track of the cases pending for those 52 men, I attended Circuit Court sessions every day from late August to late November when summer business thinned, and checked in periodically thereafter. (By October, about one-third of the cases had been disposed of.) During the days following those six nights of massive arrests, HPA and AIM workers had kept a record of everyone arrested. This made it simpler to follow all arrests to their conclusion in the courtroom. No clerical division of the city was equipped to handle record-keeping of such volume; the records set up by the HPA and maintained throughout the court proceedings are the best available from any single source. Attesting to this is a contract with the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in late December to compile statistics on court dispositions for their report. ("Disposition" in court vocabulary is not "temperament", as I learned, but outcome of a case.)

Following are some facts and observations on what happened to people in court. A sort of ABC of court routine (totally unknown to me before those weeks) has been provided in verse as supplement.

A is for Arraignment: in part, the setting of the bond,
For after being arrested, the accused one might abscond
Unless he's made to pay for freedom before his trial.
The amount's fixed by the State, peeking in a file
Data-packed with prior record and scrap-biography,
It tells nothing of his income or kind of family.
To determine this judiciously, His Honor may demand:
"Name everyone you support, everywhere you've been a hand."
Then looking down upon them from his Virtue and Success,
He exploits this occasion to make defendants confess
To wrongdoings he defines as the absence of things
That high pay or status or white education brings.
Unemployed he calls shiftless, and heaps much scorn
Upon those he can find with children illegitimate born.

The Judge, to be sure, advises all of their rights:
Wherein accused are told their own word indicts
If usable in court, so they may keep silent,
And may have a lawyer, unless earnings prevent;
And so in many cases there's the Public Defender,
Supplied for the Indigent his services to render;
But his dedication and skill alone can't match
All a law firm with investigators is paid to catch.
Furnishing lawyers not measured as charity favors,
Legal Assistance takes cases, but alas it wavers
Because the Bar's keen eye for profit and loss
Sees LAA offices as threatening to toss
Out the window what could mean extra fees,
So on LAA size and funds they put the squeeze.

B is for Bindover -- that means on to Superior Court;
For higher crimes or felonies the law must there resort.
It's ominously termed being "sent across the street,"
But the scales of justice tip on the same old balance sheet.

B also is for Bargain, Justice of a special kind:
Prosecution and Defense dealing to respectively find
A criminal conviction and a sentence not so large,
Priced at defendant's pleading guilty to a lesser charge.
His guiltlessness is gone, but the case gains speed;
Anyway, a black man's record has already been decreed.

C is for Continuance 'cause it takes a lot of time
For officials of the court to due process a crime.
Defendants in the courtroom spend many many a day;
No one counts the jobs they lose or adds up loss of pay.

D is for Diction, phrases turned by judges on the bench:
To extract their meaning, you'd need an expert's wrench.

Of approximately 550 arrests, 145 were charged with felonies. Of these, approximately 30 were bound over to Superior Court. Nearly all felonies disposed of pleaded guilty as misdemeanors, and so counted as convictions. Over 20 cases are still pending in Superior Court. (One of the men on the staff of Superior Court sneered at the ineptness of Circuit Court for sending over cases that he said belonged under Circuit jurisdiction.)

Probable cause hearings are required to establish whether there was "probable cause" for making a felony arrest. Since this is its purpose, arresting officer(s) and witnesses against are heard from. The incapacity of many white people to tell black people apart came out in testimony here. Example: In one group of 4 companions, the officer testified in elaborate detail what one of them had done. Facing the foursome, this officer could not identify him. These hearings were also the occasion for melodramatic remarks by the prosecutor about the integrity of the police force. If any detail of police testimony was disputed, the prosecutor was likely to exclaim: "Do you mean to say that this officer would take the stand and lie?"

Questions of civil liberties were almost never raised giving this observer the impression that Supreme Court decisions seldom trickle down to lower courts, yet flood people with a false picture of "pampered criminals" and others with an equally false one of justice flowing ever purer. One giant exception to this was an excellent brief prepared by Atty. Arthur LaFrance (LAA) arguing on several grounds that the curfew was invalid. A front page story in the December 18 Register reported the judge's decision upholding the curfew and its enforcement.

The technical handling of curfew cases looked clumsy. As far as I could tell, the first curfew arrests were called Breach of Peace until the statute turned out to be inadequate. So 125 people were given a NOLLE (not prosecuted) on BOP, and fined $25 (the amount somehow fixed for curfew violations). Subsequent arrests were made on the basis of City Ordinance 21 ("Hindering, Obstructing or Refusing to Aid the Mayor.").

On all charges, sentencing varied with judges. Where one imposed suspended sentence and probation, another imposed a fine. In curfew cases, one judge remitted $10 or $15 of the uniform $25 if any reasonable explanation was offered. Another treated all curfew violations as inexcusable, unless there was a written statement from an employer saying this person worked the night shift.

Lack of medical attention in jail showed in the courtroom most glaringly in the case of a young black man, diabetic, who had gone without insulin for 3 days. He was barely conscious as he stood before the court.

50 people were arrested on charges of Carrying Dangerous Weapon, or CDW in Motor Vehicle (a separate statute enacted in the 'twenties, I heard, because the prosecution failed to convict a group of people carrying weapons in their car and not on their person.) Many of these charges seemed questionable. A young black man was arrested for CDW for carrying as usual the razor he opened cartons with every day at work -- as others always carry the instruments of their work, pens and pencils. (A speedy trial was assured for him because his entry into the service was being delayed. Remarkably, a young Puerto Rican man was sent to Vietnam with a Breach of Peace case pending. The charges were dropped.) Of these CDW's, at least 19 were white people. A white man whose car was stopped was arrested for CDW when a crowbar (?!) and hunting knife were found. In a different manner, a carload of young white vigilantes were arrested with rifles. One of them told me they meant to use them in the Hill, and confided that "the cops said we should have badges pinned on us." Each of them was able to post bond of $1000 and obtain a private attorney. One was defended on the grounds that "an imminent threat of violence" justified his being armed. While fining them $50 each for curfew -- CDW was NOLLIED -- the judge simply said "There's more to this than meets the eye." (No white person convicted was put on probation.)

Cars of black people in areas patrolled after curfew were systematically stopped and searched. One black man, in the process of moving to New Haven and transporting some of his things, was stopped; a search of his car yielded an ice pick, the basis of CDW charges! In court that charge was NOLLIED. However, he had to pay towing and storage fees on his car, in addition to $25 for curfew. He said he was moving right back out of New Haven. In another case, the Public Defender argued that the law requires an arrest

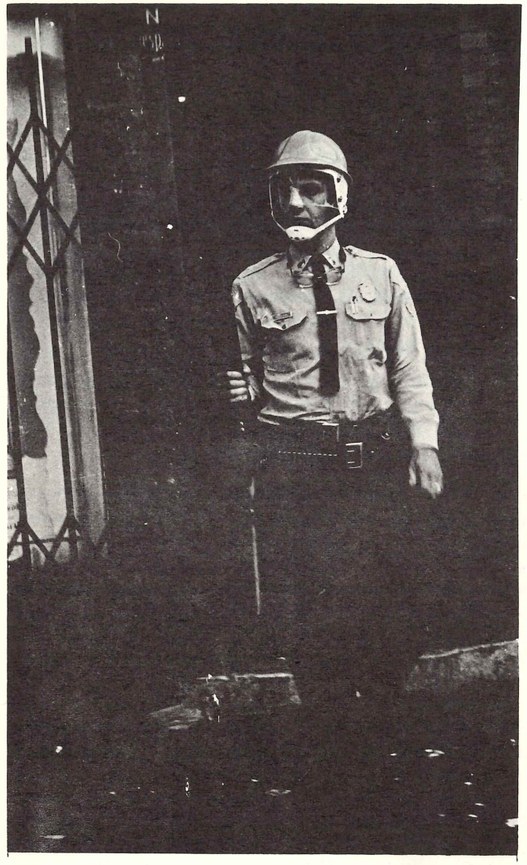


Photo by Dick Balzer

bench each month. In his case, and countless others, the State was unable to present a police report or evidence of any kind, and asked time after time for continuances. It seemed difficult in general to get an officer to court for testimony. Many cases were dismissed on the 5th or 7th time around. After several continuances for this particular man, during which he waited most of the day to be called (the order of names called may have had something to do with lawyer influence), the judge gave the State one more chance to produce evidence exactly one week hence. That date fell in the next month, and the new judge rejected the decision of a week before. 20 days later, the State was able to bind over this defendant in a probable cause hearing.

-A young man, Puerto Rican, whose English was broken at best, was charged with Inciting Injury to Persons or Property for allegedly saying "Let's go 3 abreast and get the helmets of those m.f. cops." The Public Defender pointed that his idiom was hardly such "Chaucerian English." But the judge said that severe punishment was mandatory regardless because (1) he must learn not to succumb to mob psychology, and (2) there must be something to act as a deterrent against anyone else doing so. No doubt this lad would broadcast his lesson in classroom English.

Another Puerto Rican youth, charged with Aggravated Assault for allegedly throwing stones at "fire apparatus" was sprayed with Mace when arrested. His face was hideously burned. As the Public Defender pointed out his burns, the prosecutor with his back deliberately turned said "Your Honor, our police and fire [sic] must be protected." By pleading guilty to a lesser charge, he was sentenced to one year suspended after 60 days.

On the same street (under floodlight surveillance) a Puerto Rican man was plucked out of his building from which empty beer cans had been thrown at policemen. The police did not see who threw them, but managed to find suspects in the building. This particular man said he was in his apartment, 4th floor rear, at the time of his arrest. Since no identification was possible, his charge was reduced from Aggravated Assault to Breach of Peace, with no change in his Not Guilty plea. After hearing the circumstances of his arrest (through the court's Spanish interpretor), the judge's statement on this case was: "This court stands for law and order ... All rioters belong in jail." The defendant was given a suspended sentence so his wife and children would not be deprived of support, and put on probation for one year. (None of the probation officers I met knew Spanish.)

Supporting a family was not necessarily grounds for leniancy. Another judge, in the case of a man who had taken two items from a grocery store already broken into and who pleaded that his job would be lost permanently if he went to jail, imposed a sentence of to precede a search. The judge upheld the search, saying "The court cannot close its eyes to the temper of the times." The weapons involved were a small razor and 2 small "spring-type" knives in a "closed position"; at no point did I hear it established that these objects were 4 inches or longer, the length that makes a "weapon" legally "dangerous." Their case is pending in Superior Court.

The arrest report (read aloud at the prosecutor's discretion) on one black man picked up for curfew violation cited against him his use of the term "black power"! In one of the rare light moments, he said he was out after 8 o'clock only because the Mayor had promised to meet him at a quarter to, and had kept him waiting on the corner.

A black man arrested for Inciting to Riot was hurt by the standard court procedure of rotating judges on the children, was sentenced to one year suspended after 60 days and 2 years probation.

The attitudes of the judges mentioned above seem to be common-place. In Chicago, for example (Ursula Bentele, LSCRRC, "Courtroom Scenes after Chicago's Racial Unrest," (Vol. 1, No. 7, Aug. 1967): "One defendant kept insisting that he had been picked up for nothing, at which point the judge shouted: 'One more word out of you -- just one more word -- and I'll have you thrown in County Jail for a year for contempt of court. If you had any respect for law and order, you wouldn't be here in the first place.'"

Many Spanish-speaking people did not understand when they were due in court. One day one of the prosecutors, calling names of those due to appear, got no response from a person with an Italian name. He asked that the clerk notify him to appear another time, saying that for an offense as minor as curfew violations, this was sufficient. Minutes later, he called 2 Spanish names and again got no response. For them, also curfew violators, he ordered that a rearrest warrant be issued. This is standard procedure in dealing with most anyone who does not appear when called. In the sometimes long interval between court appearances quite a few forgot their exact dates due, without attorneys or appointment cards to remind them. Not infrequently, people were listed on the wrong date and naturally did not appear; this clerical error resulted in rearrest warrants for them. Another error of this type was the misplacement of one man's extensive past record in the file of another man with the same last name. This nearly brought this man a heavy sentence, but was caught in time by his lawyer. (Not even raised here is the question of trying a man on his past.)

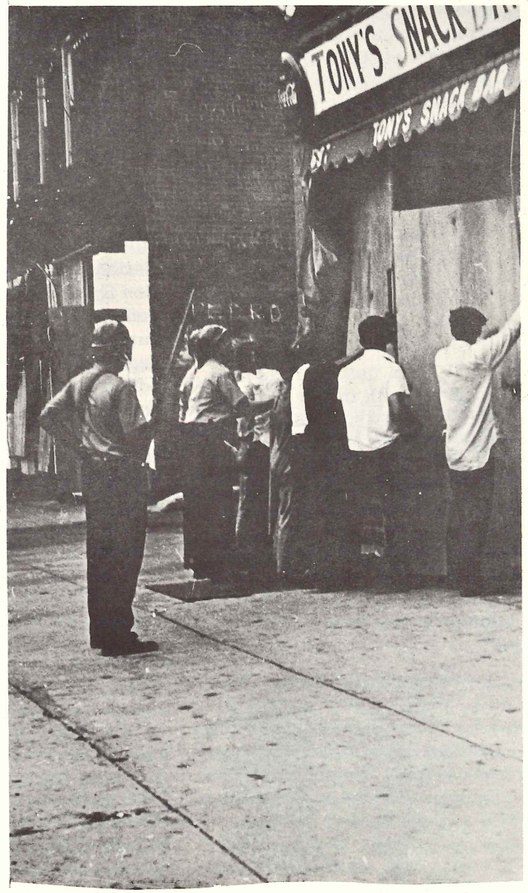
-The court's inability to keep records 100% straight on sudden huge numbers of people caused terrible hardship in at least two cases.

(1) Two young black men with the same name were arrested one day apart, the first for Breaking and Entering, the second for curfew violation. The 2nd man was recorded exactly as the 1st by the court. He spent nearly 30 days in jail, half of it under $2500 bond, the other half under bond reduced to $500 -- amounts equally out of reach -- before the record was set straight.

(2) A black student was put in the police wagon with a group of 3 arrested several blocks earlier for Breaking and Entering. At the station he was booked with them for B&E. He was fortunate enough to have a friend who could post $500 bond, once it had been lowered, but had no resources to hire a lawyer. The Public Defender, already overburdened and lacking investigators, was in no position to uncover this. The student did not openly protest the situation or show anger about it -- a sad testimony to ingrained mistreatment breeding outward submission. Meanwhile, he lost the fall semester of school.

To make up for these "mistakes," both young men were excused from paying their curfew fines! But the remedy for this kind of incompetence might bring worse consequences: electronic infra-red record-control, along the lines of monstrously efficient riot-control now in planning. (See - PACIFICATION OF OUR CITIES elsewhere in this newsletter.)

This daily experience of the court system was an education, mostly an upsetting one. It helps, these days, to learn legal procedures. It jolts to learn that a society oppressing a segment of its people cannot build a single institution untainted by this oppression. The systematic humiliation and exploitation of non-white and poor Americans that characterizes the administration of health, education, and welfare is also characteristic of the administration of justice.



New Haven - August, 1967 Photo by Dick Balzer

PACIFICATION OF OUR CITIES

by Henry Tamarin

In recent years the United States has taken upon itself the task of armed pacification both at home and abroad. Until recently one only had to worry about facing armed military might if one lived in Latin America or Southeast Asia. With the increasing frequency of disturbances in our own cities, we must realize that all residents of our urban areas are subject to this same treatment. Although the citizens of the inner city in the United States are not subject to the napalm, fighter planes and artillery being used in Vietnam they are being confronted by a wide range of weapons from armoured cars and helicopters to chemical irritants such as tear gas and Mace. The arsenals of large cities and National Guard units include more and more sophisticated weaponry to fight the disturbances at home.

Institutions that once devoted themselves solely to the gamesmanship and plotting of the cold war and the war in Vietnam are now turning their attentions to the problems of cities and civil disorders. The Institute for Defense Analysis, a group formed by 12 universities in 1955 to serve as "a means by which individuals from universities can come to grips with major problems of national security," has moved from studies such as "Tactical Nuclear Weapons--Their Battlefield Utility" to a report last year for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, "which recommend that domestic police departments adopt a computerized system of command and control based on the military model."

Other institutions and corporations that make their profits from the purchases of the armed forces such as Lockheed, North American Aviation and the Rand Corporation have generously turned their attention to the cities of the United States through the process of systems engineering. According to the January, 1968 issue of Fortune Magazine, "systems engineering...would examine the city in the round as a total systems complex, interrelating all its demographic, economic, social and pysical components, with a view to arriving at more integrated solutions to the multiple problems." What is most frightening about the help of these large corporations is not that they are an integral part of the cold war but that their studies are of statistics instead of people.

The systems study of Los Angeles made by the Space-General Corp. in 1965 did not involve the questioning of individuals but was based on statistics of population density, crime rate, Negro population, etc. On the basis of this information they came to the startling conclusion that there might be a riot in Watts. The key to this study and other studies of this type is statistical data of each individual. The major feature of the system proposed by the Institute for Defense Analysis mentioned earlier would be, "a computerized central monitoring system and data bank which would store information on thousands of individuals and which would be connected to a vast National Criminal Justice Information System." The data bank and computer which shows the systems analyst that you are poor enough to need help will show your local police department that you are poor enough to make trouble.

It is interesting to note that New Haven will probably be one of the first computerized cities. After an initial study, the city and IBM have entered into an agreement to design an "urban management information system" which will be based on a computer containing statistical information on all New Haven residents. According to Part III of New Haven's Model Cities application to the federal government, the computers would give the police "instant access to valuable information." In a very straightforward manner the report says, "In case of a criminal action, the Police Department would have available all the information about suspects known to have been in the area where the crime was committed." In New Haven nearly 600 ghetto residents were arrested during the riot in August, 1967 for being suspected of a crime. Do their files go into the computer or in the end will "suspects" include all those in the ghetto who are poor and black?

The only apparent sign of technological progress in the ghetto takes the form of new and more sophisticated weaponry for the police departments. The new chemical irritant Mace, produced by the Smith and Wesson Co. is gaining favor with many police departments. It is a chemical irritant that is sprayed into the face and eyes of the victim from a hand-held aerosol can. The New Haven riot in 1967 marked its first widespread usage although it has not yet been completely tested and there are disquieting reports of people being seriously injured by it. The standard riot control weapon, tear gas, has been adapted so that it can be fired from shotgun grenades, thrown in bombs and sprayed from helicopters. The major objection to tear gas is that it cannot be aimed at individuals but affects all people in the area. To the besieged guardsmen or policemen in a riot this objection is overlooked in the interests of expediency. In Newark and Detroit the indiscriminate firing of machineguns into suspected apartment houses during the 1967 riots indicates that the soldiers are worrying less and less about the innocent. Harry Wells, a riot control official for 24 years now working for the Lake Erie Chemical Company of Ohio (a current subsidary of the Smith and Wesson Co.), states in Gunworld, March, 1968, "there are no innocent bystanders on the street at the time of a riot." All residents become guilty solely because they are there.

It is not ironic that the bureaucratic government which works from the top down brings the same results in our cities as in Vietnam. The major confrontation between the established system and the person in the ghetto is made through the soldier or the cop. They are the ones that have the responsibility of reclaiming the failures of the corporations, universities and government in solving the problems of the cities. Pacification by force is a last resort that has become standard for the United States both at home and abroad.

education forum:
BLACK STUDENTS UNION STATEMENT

The Black Student Union was created to unify the black students here at Hillhouse so that we can work in a positive manner to alleviate the discriminatory practices within the school.

Black students revolted because the schools have failed us. The schools have failed even to teach many of us to read and to write. More important, the schools ha e failed to teach us our Afro-American heritage. Thus without the minimal skills needed to compete in this computerized society and without the self-respect and pride in ourselves, as Black people, we are literally thrown out into Twentieth Century America.

We have demanded that the cycle of systematic neglect of our human rights be broken now. We have insisted that the Board of Education accept, adopt and comply with our grievances and demands immediately.

We feel that black students know best the discriminatory problems. Therefore, we should work to rid our school of the practices of neglect and injustice. Naturally, when things get better for the black students, the atmosphere change for the better of the whole. Essentially we want peace and order restored to the school, and the up-grading of the quality of education for all students!

We have demanded:

A. Accredited courses in Black Consciousness (that is to say, Afro-American Civilization, Culture and Languages) be implemented in the regular curriculum. (Sept. '68)

B. School administrators and teachers stop their arbitrary and racist attitudes and practices.

C. Additional teachers be added to the school staff including more qualified black teachers. If need be, bring them from out of state.

D. A Committee be set up to inform students of all the possible grants, and scholarships available.

E. This school have more counselors including black counselors who may be able to relate better to black students.

F. A review board be set up to hear the grievances of teachers and students. This board would be set up to decide what disciplinary action should be taken against students. We have suggested that a merit system be used. Where a student or teacher would get so many demerits for commiting misdemeanors. After a number of demerits is accumulated the student or teacher would be brought before the re iew board and disciplinary action would be taken.

G. Each year all students and teachers recei e a copy of all school rules and regulations with the penalties to be imposed for each infraction.

H. An extensive colateral reading list including black history and black literature be drawn up and used.

I. There should be a re-evaluation for the use of study periods. Students who want to study would have a place to study. Those who do not want to engage in study would be able to have discussions, see films or watch educational T. V. in another room.

J. All school laws be enforced with no preference given to black or white students.

K. The black community be given more than a token role in determining educational policies and the hiring of administrative personnel.

L. That students have a committee to meet with the cafeteria staff to make the daily menus, so that the students and teachers have daily fresh food.

M. On Jewish holidays schools have normal classes or close school. No study hall in history class, etc.

N. Have Hillhouse a New Student Government election.

O. No police in the school other than the security officer during school time, unless to quiet a disturbance.

P. Add more nurses to the school's staff.

Q. Make Hillhouse an inner-city school so that it will be eligible for (TPR) funds.

R. Make Hillhouse a community school.

Our proposals do address the causes of the problem and can be implemented. They are the least that can be done to avoid further discord within the school.

Racism must end in the New Haven School system!! We Black students pledge ourselves to struggle with all our being to better our schools. Our revolt has moved this school system and has moved this Model city to the realization that we are no longer willing to have our lives permanently damaged by inferior education. However, we have now moved from rebellion to planning and programming. We will not be betrayed, however by false promises or by men who speak with forked tongues. With the encouragement and support of parents and other concerned citizens, we shall succeed. But our success will be a victory for quality education.

AIM

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Make out your checks to AIM Newsletter and send to:
241 Orange Street
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For information write, or call 787-0123.

EXPANSION AND NEW SERVICES

(Operation Breakthrough, Inc. is not dead. In spite of the arrests of four of its leaders and workers--Ronnie, Buddy, Alonzo and Nobby--and the State Highway Department's breaking of the $150,000 contract, the organization is getting itself together again. The new managment refuses to go on the defensive. JeRoyd Greeene and C.B. Covington are maintaining Breakthrough's work crew system and developing new and more ambitious services. We print here a statement by President JeRoyd Greene.)

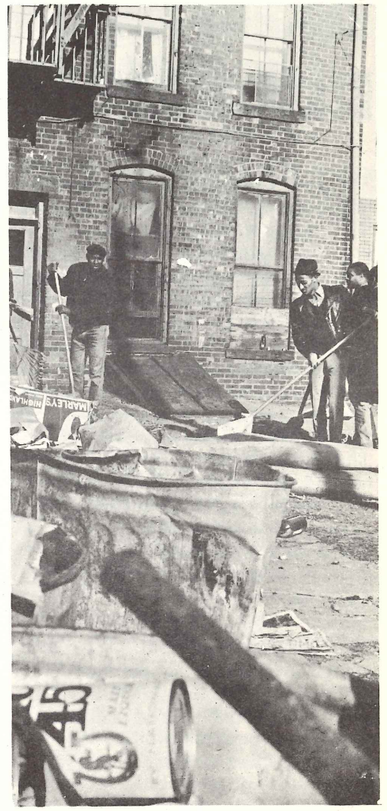
The Highway Department fiasco was a result of political pressures, both local and State, and of the City's repudiation of its recommendation of the organization as capable of doing the work. After a series of negotiations with the Highway Department, subsequent to the arrest of Ronnie and Curtis, we were effectively told that our services as a contracting party to the State were no longer in the best interests of the State.

In November, when they found out that Curtis Belton was leaving Breakthrough, the Highway Dept. took the keys to the equipment room on Legion Avenue and told the organization not to do any work on the State properties. The $150,000 contract was two-phase--including a tenant relations and maintenance portion. C.B. and some of the other men did some work on tenant relations, some $5,300 worth of work. The men would go out and expedite complaints of the tenants in the Route 34 properties to the Complaint Department of the State Highway Department so that repairs could be done. The men were paid for this work by a loan made from the 2nd National Bank, using the $150,000 contract as collateral. The State made no attempt to communicate with Breakthrough in December after they had taken the keys from the men. Breakthrough's personnel had no idea of the nefarious plot which was afoot and waited in good faith for word from the Highway Dept. as to when they could begin work on the main part of the contract. During this time crews were recruited and selected and all was being made ready to start the project. Twenty men were recruited --men known to be out of work-- hard-core people.

Somehow our insurance company, Travellers Insurance in Hartford, found out that during this interim period no work was being done on the Route 34 properties (which was cause we couldn't get the keys to get it done) and they cancelled our performance bond. Here's where the twist comes. Now the Highway Dept. comes back and tells us that since the bond has been cancelled, we're no longer authorized to work on the contract. So we got caught up in a bureaucratic circle. We're sure that each move was premeditated and calculated to eliminate us.

We then had a series of negotiations going back and forth with Hartford. We demanded that the State carry out its part of the contract. An attempt was made by the State to emasculate Breakthrough by an insulting compromise agreement which would have reduced the corporation from the status of employer, sub-contractor, to a referral agency, and meant the loss of the $150,000 to the organization and therefore to the Black Community. We rejected the offer, alleging bad faith and rampant racism on the part of certain State officials. Presently we are looking into the possibility of bringing suit against the Highway Dept.

Along with our reorganization, we have moved our main office to 210 Dixwell Avenue. Essentially the move to Dixwell is indicative of our state of mind. We are looking to do quality services and work and we wanted to move into an area where the majority of the hard-core people are. One of the reasons we located our offices here was the fact that we couldn't find suitable offices in the Hill without doing too much renovation. The offices here are executive offices--we plan to open branch offices for our work crews as soon as we can.



Operation Breakthrough work crew on the job.

Our contract services--essentially work crew services--form just one facet of a projected multi-phased corporation. We are presently engaged in negotiations with various neighborhood employers to provide employment consultant services for hard-core employment. That's the initial step. We will also provide follow-up services--family services for the people we place. This includes consultation with employees during the adjustment period and creating flexibility in the employers' personnel services. Psychological testing is one of our innovations in our personnel recruiting program. We're trying to get a culture-free

Cont. Page 9

breakthrough, cont

test which will give a rough indication as to a man's intelligence and potential. This will also serve as one of the many tools to help us quantify and evaluate our personnel services. When you're dealing with grass-roots people, you want to find something outside an interviewer's impressions as to whether a man will be a stable employee. We're interested in providing an employer with the best possible person for a particular job. Our follow-up services are designed to reduce problems of turnover. In order to work successfully with hard-core people, the prime objective is not only to find employment, but to see that they remain employed so that they can take advantage of upgrading possibilities.

We have already begun work on our employment consultant services. We are now finalizing arrangements with Southern New England Telephone Company and Yale University in hopes that specific problem areas can be ironed out as soon as possible. If things work out, we'll be given a shot at most of the positions that will be open. We'll be trying to fill mainly the unskilled and low-skilled positions.

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Readers of the AIM Newsletter can help Breakthrough expand its services. If you need MOVING, RUBBISH REMOVAL, CELLAR AND ATTIC CLEANING, PAINTING, GENERAL CARPENTRY--call JeRoyd Greene at the new office, 210 Dixwell--624-1184. Breakthrough's workers are bonded by a New York firm, they are people who are energetic and enthusiastic about their work. SPRING CLEANING IS COMING UP Breakthrough also needs money. Without any advertising, they get several thousand dollars' worth of work each month. They could handle much more. They would like to make a bank loan to pay for advertising and more equipment. JeRoyd Greene tells me he is putting up his savings as collateral. If any AIM readers have savings, bonds or property, we urge you to call him at 624-1184 and offer your financial help.

REPRESSION

by Karl Klare

Acts of repression against political leaders in particular and members of the community in general are familiar to us in New Haven. What is perhaps less familiar, despite the recent highly-publicized indictments of peace leaders Dr. Benjamin Spock and Rev. William Sloane Coffin, is that a general pattern of repression is developing in the United States. The new repression, only a glimpse of what may potentially come in the future, appears both in new forms and as an intensification of traditional means.

The tragic incidents of Orangeburg, South Carolina, in recent days have not received adequate press-coverage. On Feb. 8, students of two local colleges held a "prayer-in" and protest demonstration; this event followed an attempt three days before to desegregate a bowling alley which led to 20 arrests and police violence against demonstrators. According to movement press sources and an emergency bulletin from Students for a Democratic Society national headquarters, National Guardsmen wantonly attacked the students for no apparent reason. Sam Hammond (age 18), Delano Middleton (age 17), and Henry Smith (age 18) were killed in the attack. Hammond was shot in the back. Official sources claimed that the law-enforcement officers were fired upon by the students, but no evidence to support this allegation has been forthcoming. SNCC organizer Cleve Sellers was arrested while having his wounds tended to in the infirmary. Charged with inciting to riot, arson, and other offenses, he is being held on $50,000 bail. (Funds urgently needed: SNCC, 360 Nelson St., S.W., Ga.)

A subtler form of repression has been applied to the whole black liberation movement through the court order which bars SNCC leader H. Rap Brown from traveling outside of New York City. The restriction on the SNCC leader's travel is an obvious attempt to prevent Brown from assuming his leadership role within the movement without forcing the government to martyr him through more severe repression.

A new form of political harassment will make its debut in New York on Feb. 27 when the Subversive Activities Control Board opens hearings on the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, a national radical youth movement that has participated in much anti-war activity. Over the past few years the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional one after another of the provisions of the McCarran Act which created the SACB during the McCarthy Era over President Truman's veto. In an effort to circumvent the Court's attempt to preserve traditional American civil liberties, the so-called "Dirksen Amendments" were rammed through Congress and signed into law in January. The SACB can now simply declare and register any organization as a "communist front" and thereby subject the group to constraints on its political activities. Moreover, a still operative section of the old McCarran Act provided for the construction of detention camps for holding "subersives" if the President declares a state of national emergency. Several of these camps are known to have been recently renovated.

On a more general level, consider the Associated Press dispatch of Feb. 15, which disclosed that the national military establishment has already made detailed logistical plans for national guard operations this summer. "Riot control" equipment has been stock-piled in strategically located depots across the nation.

I have only sketched some recent evidence of repression. But a pattern is clear: we have only begun to see the outlines of the potential forms of repression and harassment that could be used by federal and local authorities against freedom and peace movements in the future. We now know (see the current Viet-Report magazine) that universities and scientists were marshalled to create the science and technology for social control in overseas situations. The awesome fact stares us in the face that this technology may be applied at home in the near future.

ADA, McCARTHY AND NEW HAVEN

by Gilbert Merkx

(The author is an Instructor of Sociology and Public Health at Yale, chairman of the Committee on Membership of the Connecticut Chapter, Americans for Democratic Action, and a member of the steering committee of the Yale Citizens for McCarthy. AIM has invited him to write this article on an issue of interest to many of our readers This does not represent an AIM position.)

The Americans for Democratic Action, better known as ADA, was a child of the labor-liberal coalition forged by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the thirties. It arrived on the scene in the balmier days of the post-World War II period and rapidly grew into an effective lobby on the left. ADA helped enough liberal legislation through Congress that it became one of Senator Joseph McCarthy's favorite whipping boys, thereby gaining some measure of public renown.

Today the liberal-labor coalition is dead, and the ADA is an orphan. The same developments in American society that led to the American intervention in Vietnam and the growth of race conflict in the U.S. have begun to reshape the political scene. ADA finds itself in the anomalous position of opposing the renomination of a Democratic president and supporting the presidential candidacy of a Senator McCarthy (Eugene). Labor leaders representing several major unions have withdrawn from ADA in well-publicized anger.

The relationship between the Connecticut ADA and the state Democratic Party reflects the national problem. Once the state was known for its Democratic reformers such s as Benton and Bowles; today it is better known for organization politicos such as Bailey and Barbieri, not to speak of Senator Dodd. Relations between the state ADA chapter and top Party officials have been frigid despite the predominantly Democratic membership of the ADA and its willingness to cooperate in the development and advocacy of liberal programs. As a result, the Connecticut ADA has found itself forced more and more into opposition, which cost it whatever support from the labor hierarchy that existed.

Resolutions passed by the Connecticut ADA in 1966 and 1967 put the organization firmly on record against the war policy of the U.S. government in Vietnam; these resolutions expressed the nearly unanimous sentiment of the Conn. ADA membership that an American exit from Vietnam is an essential first step towards democratizing both the U.S. and Vietnamese societies. Like most concerned liberals, however, the Conn. ADA members were faced with the fact that their views were written off by top office-holders in the state and the nation.

As a result, Conn. ADA officials were leaders in the effort to develop and fight for new leadership in the Democratic Party. Conn. ADA board members were present at the Chicago conference of Concerned Democrats which launched Senator McCarthy's presidential campaign.

The head of McCarthy's campaign in Connecticut is the Reverend Joseph Duffey of Hartford, Chairman of the Conn. ADA. ADA members from New Haven are active in the New Haven and Third District McCarthy for President groups.

The logic of the McCarthy movement is both more simple and more complex than may at first be apparent. As the first and only Senate liberal to place his career on the line against President Johnson, Eugene McCarthy is the focal point of progressive sentiment in the Democratic Party. While such sentiment may not be in a national majority, the conviction of the ADA is that it is a majority in the Democratic Party. Despite numerical control exercized by Party bosses, the chemistry of a convention leads at times to reactions that are beyond the power of bosses to contain. The McCarthy strategy is first to demonstrate the weakness of the Johnson position within the Democratic Party and then to provide the catalyst for an upheaval in the National Convention. The state of Connecticut has an important role in this calculus. Here in this stronghold of machine politics, the Bailey-wick of the Democratic Party, McCarthy has nothing to lose and everything to gain. What is true of Connecticut is also true of New Haven.

Despite the facade of unity that is usually presented, tension between the Barbieri-Giaimo-Dodd wing and the Lee-Golden-Ribicoff wing of the local Democratic Party from time to time makes the pages of the Register and the Journal Courier, most recently in the CPI controversy and in the Barbieri-Golden patronage conflict. This tension is symptomatic of the malaise which affects the local, state, and national Democratic organizations: implementation of progressive policy has fallen victim to the use of power for the retention of power. The hope of the Conn. ADA is that McCarthy's campaign will be the start of a redirection of the Democratic Party towards democratic ends, not only nationally, but locally.

The state constitution has been carefully set up to avoid any loss of boss control. National delegates are not named by a state primary, but by a state nominating convention. In turn, delegates to the state nominating convention from large cities such as New Haven are not named by registered Democrats but by the Democratic Town Committee, (in New Haven presided over by Arthur T. Barbieri). The lack of representation this implies is shown by the fact that Barbieri ignored the large McCarthy movement in New Haven to name a slate picked by his ward politicians.

As a result, the Democrats in New Haven who support Senator McCarthy are carrying their case to the rank and file of the Democratic Party. The New Haven McCarthy movement must gather the signatures of 5% of the registered Demo-

Cont. Page 10

APPEAL FROM THE NLF

Introduction

by Bob Cook

The following message was sent to me directly from Phnompenh, Cambodia. Since August, when we met with the Vietnamese in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, they have been in constant touch via Prague, Budapest, and Stockholm. The effect has been to reinforce the impressions we got of their organization, determination, and confidence. The recent offensive against the cities and the encirclement of Khe Sanh confirm what they told us of the military situation, as did a close reading of the newspapers during the fall.

According to the New Haven Journal-Courier (Feb. 26), "The United States and South Vietnamese troops, about 1.2 million men, are entirely on the defensive and many allied elements are tired. For the first time in the war, headquarters groups are beginning to assign guard duty to their men.... Americans are waiting, holding defensive positions, stretched thin trying to occupy the ground that pacification maps carried as occupied months ago. "No troops are left to go out and chase the enemy. It has never been more clear that he fights when and where he chooses....

"The most complete death since Tet has been the death of the Vietnamese political system."

It is now crystal clear that, as the Vietnamese have said, the U.S. cannot win unless it obliterates Vietnam. And that, they said, would in fact be the ultimate defeat of the U.S., as it would destroy forever every claim we make about our human decency.

In the face of the new draft call, increased bombing, and another troop build-up this appeal from the NLF has even greater urgency. The Vietnamese will fight to the end, and will defeat the Americans on the battlefield. But only we can save the U.S. from the total defeat that the demand for total victory will bring.

Dear American friends,

In face of the new development of the situation in South Viet Nam, on behalf of the South Viet Nam people's Committee for Solidarity with the American people, I earnestly call on the American of all strata--prominent personalities, intellectuals, religious and social activists, mothers, wives, youths, students, labourers, businessmen; Americans of various nationalities and American residents abroad, to side with the South Vietnamese people, sympathize with them and support their struggle. We earnestly call on you, in the interests of the Vietnamese and American peoples, for the sake of the life and happiness of our children now being shattered in this war, for social justice and world peace, to take stronger actions: demand that the U.S. government stop at once its aggressive war in Viet Nam and the draft of American youths for that dirty war, withdraw all U.S. troops so as to end early that war, in the interests of our two peoples.

We also call on you to raise your protests against the U.S. aggressors and Thieu Ky clique of henchmen who are resorting to persecution and retaliation against the surging patriotic forces that is against the entire South Vietnamese people by bombing the An Quang pagoda and other places, massacring many women and children and setting up public execution grounds to intimidate the patriotic forces.

In face of the present urgent situation, the South Viet Nam people's Committee for solidarity with the American People launches an emergency appeal to the American youth, reserve military forces and soldiers stationed in the United States and in foreign countries who will be dispatched to South Viet Nam, to resolutely refuse to go to South Viet Nam to kill our people who never have any grudge against your people and try by every means to avoid being sent to South Viet Nam to serve the U.S. criminal and immoral war there.

These actions are in your own interests, to defend your children and the honour of your own country, and at the same time in support of our people's just struggle.

We wish you success, for the friendship between our two peoples.

South Viet Nam February 7th 1968
On behalf of the South Viet Nam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People (C.S.A.P.)
Vice-President
Superior Thich Thien Hao

ada cont.

crats in the town to force a local election of delegates to the state convention. Telephone polls have shown that this can be accomplished in the short time allotted. The election campaign that shall follow will provide an important test of strength: Barbieri's organization against progressive elements of the Democratic Party who are willing to support the candidacy of Eugene McCarthy and the hope for peace and reform it represents. The willingness of Senator McCarthy to step forward means that there is not only a cause, but also a candidate. In a time of national crisis it is fitting that we should have a chance to take the cause and the candidate to the people. Until Senator McCarthy acted there seemed little prospect of anything more than a Johnson-Nixon race in November, that is to say, little prospect of a meaningful choice. Now it appears that Democrats in New Haven will have the chance to express themselves in an election that will provide a clear choice. A defeat would change the present situation very little, but a victory or even a strong showing for the McCarthy slate would have repercussions on the local, state, and national levels.

letter to the editor

TO THE EDITOR:

I remember vividly those days of 1966 when many of us rallied around a congressional candidate named Bob Cook who, at last, gave a voice to those of us who were deeply disturbed over our involvement in the Viet Nam War, and even more concerned at our neglect of the civil rights issue here at home.

I also remember that Mr. Cook's supporters were a varied lot - comprising all walks of live, professions, ages, economic means, education etc, and even quite diversified as to our own views and feelings about our problems. Yet, we all agreed on the two basic issues: we were anti the Vietnam War and for dealing with our first priority at home: the plight of racial minorities and the economic situation. I might add that many of of us were concerned and had reservations on the conduct and emphasis of the campaign. However, realizing that ideal candidates are rare if not figments of the imagination we rallied around him anyway - realizing that he stood for what we believed in so strongly, and, lastly, that he had faith in the basic principles upon which our country was founded; indeed feeling that we should return to them.

Now it is 1968 - a presidential election year - and once again or, rather still we find ourselves in serious trouble: the war is ever present, expanding; rumors of the use of atomic weapons chill the air; the civil rights movement has been reduced to violence as a means of getting heard, and the intellectual and rational voice is crying in the dark.

Dissenters and protesters abound, from their ubiquitous posters and slogans one would think that the time was ripe for a huge swell of support for a presidential peace candidate!

The "right" has its irrational spokesman in the figure of George Wallace; the bumbling republicans have their own coterie of hopefuls; the followers of the incumbant have their very own live president, but, what of the left? What's happened to them?

Some of us have found a voice in Eugene McCarthy, a senator of reason, intellect, humanity and concern: a brave man who bolted rigid party rules and traditions to stand up for the ideals in which he believed. Here is a man who stands precisely for the things Mr. Cook mouthed when he ran for Congress. And, yet, AIM, the very people who spawned Mr. Cook are pregnantly silent! Why? They, who so actively fought for an end to the Viet Nam War, who endlessly march in the name of "peace" and who called their candidate the "peace" candidate, where are they now? What are they doing when we so actively need their help?

The questions have been asked by many of us and the answers we hear are far from attractive. The consensus of many is that AIM doesn't really want things to work out but rather actually prefers to have the country fare so badly that there will be a revolution. Others say that they don't believe in the two-party system and won't back McCarthy because he had the temerity to believe in it, let alone alow himself to play an active role in it by being an integral member of one of the parties. I listen, but I am witholding my judgement til I hear from you.

However, I challenge your legitemate interests in peace in Viet Nam; in an active and equable solution to the racial problems here at home, and your real interests in the basic belief and tenets of this country if you keep silent and fail actively to work for a peace candidate.

You who so actively protest, do you really want things to get better? Do you really want peace in Viet Nam? Do you really believe in a healthy working democracy? Or, are you more concerned with the fine art of protesting for its own sake, and the delicious involvement in human strife? I wonder, I wonder.

Pauline Chapman

AIM'S ANSWER:

Dear Miss Chapman:

Two days after Mr. Lowenstein opened the New Haven McCarthy drive, the staff of the Newsletter decided that we should print as soon as possible an article analyzing the record of Senator McCarthy and stating AIM's position on his campaign as it affects the peace movement in New Haven. Since it is not up to the editors alone to state such policy, we raised the issue at the next two coordinating committee meetings. A very wide range of opinions was expressed: some strong objections were raised about McCarthy's peace credentials - his long silence at a time when Senators like Morse and Gruening were truly risking their careers in the cause of peace. Other coordinating committee members expressed concern that a McCarthy campaign in Connecticut would simply drain off funds from the local groups such as AIM which are attempting to bring the peace issue before people on a day in day out basis. But a majority were agreed that it was essential to cooperate in the McCarthy drive on the grounds that every means offering some reasonable hope of bringing peace should be tried. However, we on the Newsletter staff were not able to find someone who had the time and inclination to draft a position paper on McCarthy, although we are still anxious to print such an article. Meanwhile a member of the coordinating committee has met with Van Doorn Ooms and given him lists of potential workers and information on the political situation in New Haven. To help publicize the McCarthy drive we have invited the statement by Mr. Merkx which appears elsewhere in this Newsletter. One of our editors has been spending his weekends working on the primary in New Hampshire.

Your letter, of course, raises larger and more disturbing charges about AIM's role in New Haven. In short, you accuse AIM of abandoning the quest for peace and racial justice to embrace disorder for its own sake.

Cont. Page 13

It is hard for us to believe that you have been reading the AIM Newsletter regularly - or even the New Haven Register. No predominantly white group in New Haven has done more to support the Hill Parents Association - the only grass-roots organization which ever attempted both in electoral politics and in day to day public confrontations of the issues to challenge the oppressive and essentially racist practices of the New Haven city administration.

One of the most far-reaching and dramatic manifestations of that oppression has been the planning procedures of the New Haven Redevelopment Agency, which has consistantly treated black citizens in the same way the U.S. Armed Forces have treated South Vietnamese peasants - destroying their homes, herding them about from place to place, treating complaints as proof of membership in some sinister conspiracy, and justifying barbarism as "pacification" (e.g. improving the tax base). No group in New Haven has done more than AIM - as the local papers acknowledge - to challenge the profoundly undemocratic plans of the Redevelopment Agency. With terribly limited resources we have expended tremendous effort to involve all the people of New Haven in the planning of their own city. This is not disruption for its own sake, but a desperate attempt to bring true democracy on a day to day basis to as many people as we can hope to reach.

The need for this kind of democracy is, we feel, essential both to ending this war and to preventing a similar one in Thailand or Bolivia. Our involvement in Vietnam is a prime example of betrayal of our national interest by elected officials and a direct dismissal of the wishes of the American people as expressed in the 1964 presidential election.

But, more specifically, members of AIM have done everything we could think of towards ending the war: some of us have marched in New York and in Washington; some of us (not enough) have stood at the Wednesday vigil; some of us have picketed induction centers. Some of us - but most especially Bob Cook - have spoken out repeatedly on whatever forums were available, in fascist-threatened Waterbury as well as in New Haven. In fact, on February 12th at a teach-in on the draft at the Yale Law School Auditorium, Bob Cook specifically cited support for McCarthy as one of the important ways of working to end the war and he urged the audience to devote their energies to the McCarthy campaign. Our last Newsletter carried a leaflet urging participation in the peace march of March 2.

If our full support for grass-roots black independence, our energetic efforts to challenge the undemocratic procedures of the Redevelopment Agency, and our relentless attempts to enumerate the issues raised by this war all seem to you a mere facade, then we are sorry - but of course you have the free choice of withdrawing your support from our movement. But we sincerely hope that you will come to recognize that the only hope for a just and peaceful society is to work every day for true participatory democracy in the place where you live.

The Editors.

GOLD AND IMPERIALISM

U.S. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

The deficit in our balance of payments simply indicates how much more Americans are spending abroad than foreigners are spending in the U.S. That means dollars are floating around abroad. In 17 of the last 18 years, Western European governments have agreed to keep those dollars in their central banks, despite their right - under international agreements to which the U.S. is a party - to demand gold from the U.S. instead of holding the dollars. By the early 1960's Europe had accumulated large stocks of dollars and had decided not to accept many more.

This decision emerged from Europes awareness of the new balance of economic strength among the capitalist nations. The U.S. no longer reigned supreme over a war-devastated Europe and Japan. By the early 1960's, these two areas competed sharply with the U.S. in many markets of the world. At the same time, the self-appointed role of the U.S. as world policeman called into question her ability to finance such far-flung activities without endangering the economic stability of the U.S. European financiers and officials began to feel less than fully confident in the maintenance of the value and security of the dollars they had accumulated in their banks. It was clearly self-interest - not the unfriendliness of a deGaulle - that ended their willingness to continue dollar accumulation.

Since 1959, the deficits in our balance of payments have caused the Europeans to return dollars to the U.S. Government, demanding and getting the equivalent amount of gold. In these years, our total gold supply fell from $18 billion to under $12 billion. It is still the case, however, that foreigners hold far more dollars than this country possesses gold. Should foreigners return all their dollars in some emergency, the U.S. would be forced off the gold standard, forced to refuse reimbursement to foreigners holding U.S. dollars. This would disturb profoundly the post-war international economy. Such a disturbance, is the last thing anyone in Washington or on Wall Street wants to see.

While there is yet no rush to cash in dollars, the U.S. deficit continues and our gold supply dwindles steadily. The War in Vietnam, by requiring the expenditure of dollars in Asia, only aggravates the problem by increasing the deficit.

President Johnson sees his urgent task as the reduction of the deficit and has chosen two specific targets. First, he intends to tax tourism to dissuade Americans from spending abroad. Second, he hopes to curtail private investment spending in Europe by limiting the amounts private business may transfer overseas.

Cont. Page 14

gold cont.

In these events lie some intriguing signs of the political future of the U.S. The options open to Washington policy-makers are diminishing. Before 1959 we could have deficits because Europe absorbed them. Now, we can no longer afford deficits. The Great Society programs operating before the Vietnam War began are no longer feasible now. The freedom to act - for private citizens and for the Government - shrinks continually.

As usual, the President's choice of means to curtail the deficit is hardly random. Payments abroad might be cut back by forbidding banks to lend abroad, by strict control of private business investment, by a cheapening of prices in the U.S. to stimulate our exports. Yet all such measures run counter to the wishes of the largest corporations. Johnson chooses the path of least resistance by restricting tourism to improve the balance of payments. The American citizen now faces higher taxes to pay for a war whose indirect consequence is to stop him from travel abroad.

Europe's refusal to accumulate more dollars is part of a world-wide reaction against U.S. imperialism. In Vietnam and elsewhere in the Third World, anti-imperialist forces steadily aggravate existing foreign and domestic problems for U.S. business and Government. Simultaneously they further constrain the flexibility with which a Johnson might seek some solutions. In Europe, not anti-imperialism, but rather competing imperialists - the British, French and Germans - seek expansion at the expense of their U.S. counterparts. The result is to squeeze this country, to subject it to ever deepening pressures and problems.

Radical movements for social change at home can expect troubled years ahead. Dwindling opportunities abroad will force economic adjustments at home. Someone must take the shock and pain of these adjustments. Johnson's tourism bill suggests that once again big business and the Government will shift the burden of adjustment to those least able to afford it and likewise least able to fight it. More and more Americans will confront growing demands on their resources and disruption of their lives. Their anger and their questions may provide us with an opportunity to propose answers and to organize forces for change.

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